

131 /99 cont./

167 As is seen, the Tukano group is found distributed both in Colombian territory and Brazilian, and the migratory movements of natives between these two countries are quite frequent.

- 241 The Tukano work the land by means of the slash-and-burn method. The piece of ground intended for agriculture is always cleaned of underbrush and trees by the /100/ men, a job at which each man works individually or assisted by his male relatives. At one time, before the arrival of the Creole rubber workers in the region, the trees and underbrush were cut with stone axes, but since the arrival of the rubber worker the machete has been introduced, and today no Tukano Indian would consider using the lithic instrument again.

[462] Trees of great size are generally left in the place in which they fell, but small trees and bushes are burned toward the end of summer, or the dry season. The ashes obtained from the burning are used as fertilizer to improve the soil, but owing to the thin vegetal layer, to erosion, and to the general poorness of the land, the Tukano Indian is obliged to select and clear a new garden every three or four years. The method of crop rotation is not practiced because the forest vegetation rapidly returns to invade the land that is not cultivated and tended. The field under cultivation rarely exceeds one or two hectares.

(412) The planting is done immediately after finishing the burning, among the stumps of the felled trees and the trunks of the toppled trees. Probably the only aboriginal implement used in the planting is the planter's stick (2).

2. Digging-stick /this term is given in English/.

which is used primarily to loosen the earth and to open holes in it for planting seeds or young plants. The ground is rarely cultivated and tended after the planting is done, but weeds are pulled out and care is taken that the forest does not invade the garden.

/100 cont./

• 241

462

Just as the cutting and burning of the forest undergrowth from land intended for agriculture is the exclusive work of the men, the planting, the care of the garden, and the harvesting are tasks done solely and exclusively by the women. A man would be considered diminished in his masculinity by the rest of the society if he devoted himself to these tasks. The only exception in this case is the cultivation of coca and tobacco, in which the man is the one who does all the work, from the planting and care to the harvesting and processing.

[249]

241

Although bitter yuca is the most important crop among the Tukano Indians, they also have plantings of pineapple, papaya, plantains, flame (3),

3. Dioscorea Lindmanii Uline:

[439]

[437]

maize, sugar cane, coca, tobacco, /101/ and lemons. The pineapple, the papaya, and the plantain are products utilized principally in the barter with the rubber workers for articles such as salt, cigarettes, matches, ammunition, flashlight batteries, soap, etc.

224

[262]

224

223

[177]

Hunting, in the Tukano culture, fills the important function of providing the members of the community with meat in the alimentation. Before the arrival of the rubber workers along the Vaupés, the hunting of mammals was done by means of the bow and arrow, while birds were hunted with darts shot by means of a blowgun, the points of which had been bathed in curare. At present, the shotgun, obtained through work in the rubber plantations, has replaced the bow and arrow. For the hunting of small birds, the poisoned dart and the blowgun are still being used.

224

Hunting is done during the night, and generally it is done individually. In hunting the animal is not hunted and pursued through the forest, but awaited at the water holes on the shores of the rivers and streams. The native who goes after game remains in his canoe and uses his lantern both to distinguish the animal by the color of his eyes and to blind it momentarily and thus have

• 241
291
412
←
285
482
→



142
291
302
516

[415]
→



Upper left corner: Yuruti woman using the planter's stick ("digging stick") in the garden.

Upper right corner: Typical way of carrying the baskets where the roots of bitter yuca are put.

Lower part: Two views of Siriano Indians in typical seated position.

(Photos by M. Fulop.)

The vegetation, therefore, is
 /12 cont./ the high and dense
 137 forest of the "hydro-hygro-megathermic type," similar to that
 of the Rio Negro. The palm trees merit special attention.
 There are many varieties, sometimes following the course of
 the water and at other times dispersed through the woodland,
 which the forest dwellers use for various purposes.

We noted among the palms of "terra-firme" the tucum
 (astrocárium /Astrocaryum/ vulgare, Mart. or astr. tucumóides),
 the bacaba (oenocárpus bacaba, Mart.), the açaí /assai/
 (eutérpe olerácea, Mart.), the inajá (Maximiliána régia, Mart.),
 the pupunha (Gullerma /Gullielma/ speciosa), the paxiúba
 (iriarteia exorrhiza or setifera, Mart.). Among those of the
 inundated places, the javarí (astrocárium javarí), the mirití or
burití (maurítia vinifera and m. flexuosa), the caraná
 (maurítia caraná), the jará (leopoldinia maior), the piacaba
 (leopoldinia piassaba, Wal.), the tucumã (astrocarium tucuman,
 Mart.). The climbing palm, the jacitara or Kamwarri, of the
 genus Desmoncus, is of great use in the indigenous basketry.

134 In general there is only a small superficial humous layer,
 137 from which emerges the imposing millenary forest, and after
 that the sandy or clayey strata. A primary consequence of such
 a small humous base is that the trees have very superficial roots,
 and therefore the storms frequently knock them down, producing
 true clearings in the forests. A second consequence is that the
 land becomes unproductive after three or four years of the
 primitive native agriculture.

136 /13/ The rivers and Igarapés are populated by many species
 of fish, which constitute one of the principal foods of the native.

The Amazonian fauna is not rich in varieties, and less so
 quantitatively. Besides the dangerous felines, the onça /jaguar/
 (felix /Felis/ onça) and the gato macarájá /ocelot/ (felix
pardalis and felix mucura, Neuw.), there are few animals that
 the native ordinarily can find and that offer him meat for food:
 the veado /deer/ (gen. cervus), the paca (coelógenys paca), the
cotia /agouti/ (dasyprocta aguti, Lin.), queixada and caetitu
 /species of peccary/ (dicotyles labiatus, tayassú albirostris, and
tayassú tayassú, Lin.), the anta /tapir/ (tapirus americanus,

/13 cont./

136 Briss.), the capivara /capybara/ (hidrochoerus /Hydrochoerus /capybara, Exrl.) and macacos of various species.

The birds present the same scarcity in quantity, but a greater richness in variety and plumage. Among those appreciated as foods by the forest dwellers, we remember the tucanos /toucans / (ramphastus /Ramphastos/), jacamim /trumpeter/ (psophideos /Psophidae/), mutum /curassow/ (crax nigra, alector, etc.), jacu (penélopes), several pombos /doves / (columba). Procured for their plumage are the garças /herons / (heródias egretta) and other varieties of ardeídae, tucanos, and the extraordinary variety of araras and other psittacídeos /Psittacidae/.

The entomological contribution is more varied and richer, some varieties of insects also serving as food for the inhabitants of the region.

• 241 In this habitat in which the area to be cultivated is acquired by arduously hewing down the secular forest and which is only used regularly for three or four years, one can make only a small planting. We must remember that originally the Uaupés man had at his disposal only the stone ax, and that on the Uaupés the verões, that is, the periods of dry weather that permit "the burning of the clearing," are neither frequent nor extended.

361
[262] The agriculture, on one side, as well as the fishing and the hunting, do not permit large human assemblages. As a consequence, we are going to find the population always dispersed in small groups located on the banks of the rivers and streams (igarapés), which, besides furnishing, with the fish, a favorite food, also serve them as a means of communication.

[241] The demands of the natives being minimal, the conditions that determine their habitat are reduced to three: 1st, water, to drink, to bathe, and to give them fish; 2nd, the forest, which furnishes fruit and the wood for the fire; 3rd, land sufficiently fertile for the cultivation of mandioca, their principal vegetable food. Not always, but rather very rarely in the present situation can /14/ the first condition be reconciled with the third, according to native criteria. For this reason, they ordinarily plant the clearing, "wexsé," some kilometers from their house. Compensating for the inconvenience of the distance, there is presented to

/79 cont./

121 Among the tribes of the region being studied, we noted
 171 the presence of small human groups of syilicolists par
 433 excellence, that is hunters, more or less nomadic; they are
 241 the Maku. Whereas the other tribes are fluminicolists, that
 is, established on the banks of the important watercourses
 and given to fishing and agriculture. Although some Maku
 groups have assimilated many of the customs of the other
 tribes, we do not include them in these studies. We have
 already pointed out (I. Note 1) that the Maku are probably
 the most ancient inhabitants of the region.

The tribes that we studied are classified, then, in two
 large linguistic families:

101 1st. Tukano Family, covering the tribes: 1. Daxseá
 121 or Tukano; 2. Bará or Barasana; 3. Báire-masá or
 Temyú-tapuya (food people); 4. Doxká-foará or Tuyuka
 (clay people); 5. Edúrya or Erúlya; 6. Emóá-masá or
 Waríwa-tapuya (guariba people); 7. Hanéra or Panénoá;
 8. Íde-masá, Aó-níra, Makuná or Yí-tapuya /80/ (water
 people); 9. Ihwana or Yona; 10. Koneá or Arapásu
 (woodpecker people); 11. Kótírya or Wanana; 12. Móxtá
 or Karapaná-tapuya (daddy-longlegs people); 13. Neenóá
 or Mirítí-tapuya (burítí people); 14. Oá-mahá or
 Mikúra-tapuya (gambá people); 15. Pamíwa or Kubewana;
 16. Páboa-maxsá or Tatu-tapuya (tatu people);
 17. Roéra-masá or Taraíra-tapuya (taraíra people); 18. Surirá
 or Suryana; 19. Tséna; 20. Yebá-masá; 21. Wahyara,
 Wafána or Yurítí-tapuya (dove people); 22. Waf-khána or
 Pirá-tapuya (fish people); 23. Winá or Desana.

2nd. Arwake Family, including the tribes: 1. Kumádene
 or Ipeka-tapuya (water-duck people); 2. Talyáseri or Taryana.
 We speak only of these two, because the other tribes of this
 numerous family do not inhabit the Uaupés basin, and, indeed,
 that of the rivers Içana, Xié, and Negro.

/174 cont./

361 And, in order to avoid the annual floods, they locate themselves on more elevated points or "terra-firme" and are never seen in palafittes (6).

6. In some posts on the Colombian frontier, called "Comissaria," a residence for the customs officials and the guards is built on an elevated point, on posts about two meters from the ground, approximately. In 1952 an Indian from the Brazilian bank of the Papurí imitated this style in building his hut. In jest the others called it "comissaria."

351 In the povoados of two or more houses, or behind the single maloca, there will always be a beaten area that separates them, by about 50 or 100 meters, from the forest and guards against attacks by ferocious animals.

• 241 They regularly plant in the vicinity the pimenteira (different varieties of capicum), pupunha, assai, urucum, and, with less frequency, the cucura /Pourouma cecropiaefolia, Mart./, lemon tree (today also the orange tree), mamoeiro (papaya cárica), abio (lucuma calimíta, Roem. e Schulth.), /175/ sugar cane (saccharum officinale, Lin.), tobacco (nicotiana tabacum), and coca (erythroxylon coca).

Often one sees a small press, ã'rã arãrã (Uaupés a'nã anyãñ), for sugar cane (7).

7. In a maloca of the Tuyuka, on the headwaters of the Tiquié, the press was found inside the maloca, in the vicinity of the main door.

They are generally four vertical posts, well planted in the ground, supporting two wooden cylinders provided with longitudinal grooves and which turn in opposite directions, pressing the cane between

249

415

*[192]

/245/

224 During low water they also go hunting at night, drifting
373 slowly and without making any noise, while one of the Indians
[177] brings a torch of turf. They thus surprise the pacas, which are
blinded by the light, and the Indian kills them with arrows.
Nowadays they use a battery flashlight for night hunting.

6) Agriculture.

- 241 The mandioca is what provides the principal food of the
Indians of the basin of the Uaupés. All these tribes are thus found
in the phase of tillage, which is practiced, however, in a very
primitive manner: it is the phase of the "cavouco" /digging,
pit, hollow/ or of the "cova" /hole/.

They freely choose the land that pleases them the most,
because of the proximity of their dwelling and because of the
guarantee against theft (75),

75. For this reason he will not do it at the edge
of the river, unless it is beside his dwelling. If
it is in the vicinity of the river, he will always
leave a wedge of forest between the clearing
and the river, in order to hide it from the view
of those who are traveling on the water. And
the landing place where he disembarks and ties
his canoe will be at a certain distance from the
clearing, in order not to reveal its location.

* [423]
[192] and which is a little sandy, as the "terras-firmes" of the entire
region generally are, and suitable for mandioca. The act of
clearing, wexsé pá:kūrō, is what gives them the ownership of
the land while cultivating it.

* [462]
[192] Clearing is done in the periods of less rain, that is, from
June to August and from December to February. It is work
exclusively for the men. They start by choosing an area con-
venient as to distance and not subject to floods, with yellowish
soil, semisandy, di'tá sōarā, or black and somewhat humous,
nāxkā di'tá fīyfrō.

* 192 /245 cont./

• 241
313

[412]
[177]

They "go around" the clearing (pī-pé: it is the Tukano term that they use), that is, they mark off from the rest of the forest the area they want, with a small lane, cutting down the small plants and breaking branches. Formerly they did it only with the stone ax, ōxtā komé; today clearing is done with the help of the machete, dī-phī, and also at times with the iron ax, komé. The work consists essentially of breaking off the bushes and going around the large trunks with blows in such a way as to make the bark come off. With this the tree would dry and could then be burned. Once all the trees are dried in a more or less square area of about 50 or 100 meters on a side (according to the number of persons in the family), fire is set at various spots, and thus the gigantic trees either are incinerated or are reduced to a blackened trunk, which often falls to the ground. The clouds of smoke that rise here and there from the green /246/ forest reveal the places where a good burning, ōhōā-dyakī-siri, is taking place.

If the burning was not very successful, because the sticks were not dry or because of a lack of wind, the work is done again, taking down branches, assembling them around the trees -- this is called coivara, in Tukano doxté-peosé, and burning is done anew.

[423]
[476]

Although the clearing is individual or, better, family property, for the work of clearing and burning the one interested will ask for the collaboration of his companions in the maloca or in the povoado; or, if he lives isolated, that of the closest inhabitants. And not only of his own tribe, but even of another nation. This collective work (cf. IX -- 2) is called neōsé (in Nheengatú ayurf). The immediate pay, that is, on the day or days of work, is a plentiful caxirí for all the workers; and more distantly his own help when solicited for identical work for the benefit of others. The ayurf is always practiced whenever the participation of many persons is needed for one job, for example, to cut and bring wood from the forest, to put in place the timberwork of a house roof, etc. The ayurf is a practice that is still in force even among the caboclos of the Rio Negro.

/246 cont./

After the operation of burning or the colvara, one proceeds with a rough cleaning, o'asé, removing to the sides one or another trunk and branch that might be on the ground.

Now begins the planting, which is reserved for the women, that is, the wife assisted by her daughters or women who live with her. Since this work might take a long time, if the clearing is very far from the house the man builds there a small hut or papirí, in Tucano wi'yká-pama. This is four stakes supporting a straw covering. His family will stay there during the cleaning and the planting. This is done, even today, in the simplest way, called wexsé bu'bé, with the help of the digging stick: that is, after a rainfall, when the ground is still soft, a hole is made in the ground with a pointed stick (more rarely, today, with a digging iron), sérí-phí, a maniva (branch of manioc) is introduced obliquely, and a small heap of earth is piled up around it.

Nowadays, they plant in their clearings besides mandioca, joints of cane (saccharum officinale), shoots of the banana tree (Musa), of carás /Dioscorea/, of sweet potato (hypomoea batata), of pineapple (ananas satíva), seeds of papaya (papáya cárica). Ordinarily they do not plant all the cleared area at only one time, but in two stages or two clearings a year, in the two proper times; it is what they call dexkó bu'besé, half a planting. The planting is done in disorder, the /247/ shoots very close together and without a passage. For this reason, and also because of the impoverishment of the soil, the return is always scanty. Ordinarily they do not pull up mandioca for flour until after a year. The weeds that grow are pulled out by hand, taá kuresé, by the women. The woman will spend several hours a day in the clearing with her children and, upon returning, will carry on her back an aturá of mandioca, a bundle of wood for the fire, and a child or two hanging on at her waist.

/247 cont./

• 241
* [192] The harvest, du'á, is done by pulling the plant by the stem and taking it out with the hands. They start the harvest at the periphery of the clearing, "in order to fool the cutia /agouti/." They say that upon finding the ground turned over at the edges, it will abandon the clearing, which it thinks is completely harvested. The Indian is not provident, nor does he think of accumulating food. Thus he has no storage place or warehouse. The circumstance of the climate favors him and leads him to this. Besides, due to the hot and humid climate, the mandioca starts to deteriorate a few hours after it has been pulled, and the fresh flour and beijú are tastier.

[251] The man will go to see the clearing only periodically, especially when his participation becomes necessary in order to fight the ants or the animals that attack the planting. When the quantity of ants causes apprehension, they exterminate them by lighting a fire in the hole of the anthill with a termite nest, or by guiding there the waters of the frequent rains.

* [192] According to the fertility of the ground, planting will be done there for three or four years. At the second and third planting, when the roots and trunks begin to rot, the cleaning, O'á, is more thorough and is done by dragging the loose soil with a stick. All this process of burnings and cleanings impoverishes the clearing; forest will never be formed there any more. A clear space or barren land will remain, perpetuating the spot. At most a scrubby brush will emerge there.

Frequently there is a small clearing near the house, when the other one is very far away, for the days of rain or sickness.

The contingency of making a new clearing at short intervals, the native improvidence, which is a racial characteristic, the inconstancy of the climatic elements that exists in the region (76),

76. On the one hand, the inconstancy of the climatic factors, which characterizes the whole basin of the Rio Negro, and, on the other, the almost general poverty of the soil and the

/247 cont./

• 241

[797]

/footnote 76 cont./ plagues (insects) of every kind incapacitate the region for sufficient and economical agricultural production. The problem of hunger, driving away the inhabitants of the Uaupés, has not yet set in (and will be still longer in coming, as we note elsewhere), because it is a matter of small human bands, with a minimum of demands and already partially /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ helped by the food supplies that the Salesian Missions send in monthly from Manaus and other points of the country.

241

161

167

[115]

Pertinent here is a talk that we had on the morning of the eighth of March 1956 with the Salesian Missionary Pe. João Marchesi, who since 1922 has toiled heroically in the Prelacy of the Rio Negro, and which is found summarized in 6 points in our "Diário," the last five of which have to do with the subject in focus. That is: "1st. -- This year a larger number of Brazilian Indians who worked in Colombia died, among them three from Pari-cachoeira (river Tiquilé); 2nd. -- The Caiarí (Uaupés) has fewer people today than before, and it is going to decrease even more; 3rd. -- The Indians tend to come down, and a good-sized group of them is already established in Tapurucúá (former S. Isabel, on the lower Rio Negro); 4th. -- Many of the Pirá-tapúya of Aracú-ponta (Uaupés) have already come down to the Rio Negro, and others want to come down to there (and actually in our company, and in the same launch, on November 14, 1956, about two dozen Pirá-tapúya came down to Tapurucúá; 5th. -- They are also coming down from S. Luzia (river Papuri); some have already /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ settled near Bela-Vista and Tauá (lower Uaupés), where there are good lands, and they devote themselves to gathering rubber, which they will sell to José Maria

/247 cont./

/footnote 76 cont./ (Prefeito /prefect/ of Uaupés). And he repeated for us then the complaint that he had heard from the Indians: "The land is poor, it does not produce. Where are we going to find salt and clothes for our women?"

bring periods of scarcity. There can also be fixed every three or four years /248/ the period of hunger for these populations. The indigenous conformism, the offshoot of indolence, ignorance, and lack of ambition, the custom of the fasts, made obligatory by the lack of food or imposed by traditions, the reserves of fruits that the forest provides, and sometimes, precisely in the season of the scarcity of flour, help the Indian to overcome this difficulty, which, by its frequency, indeed does not impress him. Nowadays he finds in the Salesian Missions relief for these periodic crises. During the times when their clearings do not supply them with mandioca for flour and beijú, the whole family, husband, wife, and children, runs to the Missionary centers. The parents will keep busy with some job, and, besides the daily pay they receive in order to acquire clothes and utensils, nourishment for themselves and all the children is assured.

7) Industry and trade.

We have already noted that among the tribes who live so close, in an environment with more or less identical natural resources, and bound together by marriage, and at times living in the same povoado, there is a cultural exchange in such a way that one tribe learns to make objects that formerly were made exclusively by the other and are still its specialty today, because it makes them better. From this exclusiveness in the production of certain objects, which correspond to the primary necessities of life, trade among the various tribes naturally followed. It seems that there is no trade within the tribe or maloca, because all of them know how to make the same things. Besides this, the communitarian spirit does not favor trade properly speaking.

/251 cont./

487

[481]

• [241]

The Amazon forest, interlaced as it is by lianas (a little less, it is true, than appears to anyone who only sees it from the bank of the rivers), is crossed with some difficulty, and perhaps for this reason is not crisscrossed with trails. The custom of the Indians always to walk one behind the other, never side by side, is well known. It is what is called "Indian file," that is, one by one. The native does not go very far into the forest; he is afraid of Wãx-tf (VII -- 4, d (5)). As for his clearing, it is even desirable that there is no path to reveal the site. In this way it will be better sheltered from thefts. For these reasons roads are not opened, except for those that lead from the maloca or povoado to the landing place, ordinarily a few dozen or, at most, one or two hundred meters in extent.

* [192]

/252/ They discover, however, shorter routes than the interminable windings by way of the rivers or igarapés to go from one maloca to another. Such routes, as they are more frequented for the exchange of women, feasts, or trade, become better and constitute what is called varadouro (in Tukano ma'á) (84).

84. It seems that originally the Tukano term ma'á meant only the route that the canoe was to follow in the dangerous crossings of the cachoeiras. Today the term ma'á is used as an equivalent to the Portuguese words: varadouro, caminho, estrada, etc.

482

* [192]

502

All the transportation of cargo by land is done by means of the aturás /carrying baskets/, or pi'f, which the woman carries on her back.

During the time of high water in the rivers canals navigable by canoes are formed within the forest, since the wilderness becomes a sea, and the native takes advantage of that in order to shorten the trips; his canoe takes a shortcut through the forest, instead of following all the sinuosity of the river. Their topographic memory of the rivers on which they live, going up and coming down, does not let them be led astray.

/364 cont./

789 They put seeds of certain plants inside the shotgun, in
[224] order to attract game. The eggs of fish, on the hook, have
[226] similar efficacy.

*[192] They believe in the magic efficacy of certain potions
which are called oxkó ("puçanga" in the Língua Geral). Some
are prepared by the pajé or kômû; others, by any individual.
There are puçangas for washing the parí and the cacurí, and
to guarantee them abundant fish.

The powders for the preparation of the puçangas are kept
inside certain nuts, like the tucumã (bextá) and the ucuqui
(puxpyá).

[514] They show a particular aversion toward human excrement
(75):

75. We have observed that, in practice,
the toilet is that part of the landing place
that is less deep, where they customarily
take their bath. Since they are already
immersed in the water, the personal clean-
ing is facilitated.

for this reason they do not mow that part of the povoado that
serves as toilet.

[832] The women prepare a puçanga and give it to the young
men to drink, in order to attract them for amorous purposes.

789 During the new moon the mothers give tea from a plant
824 called tá:-dõxká (In Nheengatú peri-pirioca; cyperus piperioca)
to the children to drink; and the child "comes to know every-
thing," that is, will be intelligent.

*[192] There are many varieties of this plant, all endowed with
magic virtues:

• [241] 1st. -- The woman grates the root from one of them, or
rubs it in her hands, before going to the clearing; and thus the
mandioca will yield very well.

/388 cont./

831 Confirming this opinion is, first, the fact that the relations
833 during the caxiri must take place on the ground, outside the
maloca (122),

122. When they are more intoxicated and
excited, they also violate this custom,
relations taking place even inside the maloca.
So reported some of the natives.

and that in some tribes the woman must first kiss the ground;
whereas the ordinary relations take place inside the maloca and
in the hammock.

• [241]
[835] Another confirmation of this sacred character, it seems to
us, is the opinion that they regard as good and recommended the
relations, even incestuous ones, when the women go to the clear-
ing. The relations are even compulsory when it is a matter of a
new clearing to which the woman is going for the first time.

[821]
[835] Finally, the religious character of the public incestuous
relations is further documented by the circumstance of their indi-
cation on the occasion of the new moon and lunar eclipses.

831 One can conclude, then, that sexual liberties in these cir-
cumstances, incestuous or not, have the character of a rite in
connection with /389/ the fertility of the soil and of nature in
general. We have, thus, among the tribes of the Uaupés, the
notion and practice of the intichiuma, which is also in force
among other human groups, that is, sexual liberties are magic
ceremonies in order to guarantee the reproduction of the animal
or vegetable nature. They are, by the way, very common prac-
tices, proclaiming lunar beliefs and cults of matriarchalist origin.

And they constitute, in turn, proof of the religious character
of their feasts.

/415 cont. /

585

[241]

Many times, principally in the modern regime of family habitations, the young man, as preparation for marriage, has already made a clearing with the help of friends. He will then take the girl to see the spot and will say: "I made the clearing, it is for you to do the planting" (16).

[115]

[226]

16. These were the expressions of the Taryana Teodora from Iauareté. Whereas the Tukano Antonio Barreto stated that the father, when he gives the wife to the young man, says to him: "I brought you a woman. Go fish for her." And he added: "He goes, hands her the fish, she takes, which means that she accepts the young man." Might not one perhaps see in these different formulations an allusion to the fact that originally the Taryana Civilization was essentially agricultural, and the Tukano one, a fishing civilization?

/416/ During these first days the young wife will have not only the assistance of the mother-in-law, but the husband will try to ingratiate himself, offering her good fish or good game. If, however, she does not want to adjust to this new order of things, she will then resort to flight (17).

17. It will happen, the Tukano Dorotéia Brito informed us, that they will go looking for her a second time. It is understood that this is so on account of the agreements that preceded the marriage and its conveniences for both of the families. If, however, she flees a second time, she will not be sought any more. But in this case her father will return to the young man the gifts received.

In the environment in which they live and with their way of life, this is not difficult for her.

/419 cont./

551

/footnote 24 cont./ identified with such a person (or object). To pronounce this name is to render present that person or sacred object, which is not licit (religious taboo, properly speaking). Or to pronounce the name of a person (for example, that of one's own husband, among tribes of southern India -- cf. Gordon, o. c. 132) will make him die (it is the magic taboo).

551

They will simply say to identify her: -- "The wife of such-and-such a person" or "The mother of such-and-such a person." The husband will use this expression: "Yô pōrá-kó," "the mother of my children," or "the one who gives me children," or "the mother of N" and says the name of the oldest child.

593

* [192]

462

Her tasks are constant, heavy, and of great responsibility. Perhaps in a precarious state of health, for example, during gestation and the delivery, even so, she does them perfectly, without complaining, because they are tribal regulations, therefore they come from a superior will (25).

[593]
[123]

25. If, in front of the husband, we purposely show surprise at her great tasks, the woman smiles and says nothing.

[241]

The planting and the cleaning of the clearing fall to her. She will spend whole hours in the sun amid the fire and the smoke, preparing the piles of branches to be burned, digging and burying the mandioca shoots, cleaning the clearing by the process of pulling out the weeds by hand, Taá kuresé. She is the one who pulls the mandioca, collects it in the aturás /carrying baskets/, and brings it home, where, afterwards, she peels it, grates it, squeezes it, and strains it, in order to make flour. It is she who prepares the foods and the caxiris, takes care of the house and of the rearing of the children. All this while the husband perhaps is idle in

* [192]

[252]

/480 cont. /

512
* [192]
[264] with the beijú or in small cuías, like a spoon. At the end, the woman presents a large cuía with Nõxká (manicuera /drink made out of manioc juice/) or the Po'ká peosé (the chibé /manioc flour and water/ of generalized use on the Amazon). Like our coffee, they thus ordinarily end their meals with the indispensable chibé, of which as much as is wanted is taken, the cuía then being passed to the neighbor on the right. Finally the women and children simultaneously take their food.

The noisy exodus for work starts: it might perhaps be seven or eight o'clock. The men and women leave in groups. The former for the forest, for hunting, to procure textile fibers, wood for building, or to search for fruits, or for the river, with the proper equipment for fishing or in order to prepare the traps.

• [192]
[241] The women with the older daughters and the children (small ones) go to the clearing, taking the Pi'í (aturá), hanging from the forehead on the back, in order to carry mandioca and firewood. In order to reach the field they almost always have to take the canoe, and for this reason they leave with oars of different sizes, some quite small for the children. Some old or sick person (many times nobody) will stay as guard of the deserted and silent maloca.

[462]
[854] The work will last until after eleven o'clock. Around one o'clock the maloca starts to become animated again. The women arrive with their aturás filled with mandioca and, on top, bundles of firewood; the smaller children on their hips or held in front of the chest, and others holding on to their skirt. They are perspiring, with the face flushed, if they did not /481/ touch it with carajurú /carajura/, as a precaution, in order not to suffer so much from the heat of the sun. Little by little the men also begin to arrive with the results of their labor: fruits, fish, game, or fibers and timber.

* [192] Another bath will come, with its freshness, to renew their well-being. The woman will grill the fish or the game, will prepare fresh, tasty beijú, the quinhapira, the mingau, some insect, and the chibé. Soon will come the "Baãra a 'tyá" and the after-noon meal.

121 everywhere narcotics and excitants, stimulants and vision-producing drugs are valued for their ritual effects.

No common psychological pattern, to be sure, encompasses the area. Yet the Cubeo ritual pattern, with its exaltation of intoxication and of frenzied emotional experience, is far from uncommon in the tropical forest. In religion the Amazon Basin is a region of the shaman and of minor cults rather than of priests and of the worship of important deities. Tropical forest religion is small in scale, a feature that is parallel to and assuredly related to the decentralization of social life.

Compared with the Andes, tropical forest communities by and large are small. In many regions community size is unduly small because of severe population decline since white contact. In the Northwest Amazon, the subarea of the Cubeo, the multifamily single house is the common residence. The sense of family and of kinship are very strong, making of religion and ritual largely domestic affairs, with cults of the dead and initiation rites of outstanding importance. Considering the importance of crops, horticultural ritual is strikingly undeveloped. Here we can point to a fruitful field for the study of the commonly accepted functionalist doctrine that magic and religious ritual tend to surround areas of uncertainty such as farming. In the case of the Cubeo one can state with confidence that the lack of rite in farming is related to the strongly secular position of the women as horticulturists and not to the lack of hazard in farming. Manioc cultivation is no less uncertain than yam cultivation in the Trobriand Islands. Uncertainty, after all, is not necessarily an objective condition. Existence is uncertain for all peoples and each society has the choice of underscoring those areas of life where it believes the fears and uncertainties to lie. Since the tropical forest is one of the major world areas of the *couvade*, the rites by which the father plays a part in parturition, it might seem as though it were the fate of the newborn infant more than the fate of the crops that is at the heart of their concern.

There is the fundamental question of the relation of the tropical forest to the "high" cultures of South and of Central America. On this there is still not much to say. Yet the problem of relationship cannot be ignored. One cannot divide lowland and highland into totally distinct and unrelated worlds. The archeology of the lower Amazon calls attention to cultural developments either related to or parallel to the marginal areas of the Andes. Highland and lowland share many traits such as maize, chicha, coca, textiles, and complex basketry. The jaguar "cult" of the Northwest Amazon may well be

(24)
(796)
(462)

CUBEO

361 Cubeo do not themselves make this identification. The outermost
 462 zone, that of manioc cultivation, is largely a female province. Men
 244 make the clearing, but women work in the gardens. A woman's garden
 is virtually her private domain. A man enters it upon a woman's invitation.
 [83] A husband goes there to help with some heavy task or for
 casual sexual intercourse. There is extra spice to marital coitus in the
 garden because it is the traditional place for adultery and so the
 123 Indians associate it with licentious passion. Men do not ordinarily
 361 wander over to the manioc gardens. When I wanted to see the women
 831 at work in their gardens I was not free to go without an escort, who
 244 was usually the husband himself or sometimes the headman. In the
 latter case, the headman courteously informed the husband, and
 everyone else if the husband was away. Frequent visiting was definitely
 discouraged. Women could not help but attribute sexual
 significance to a man's visit and would deride the notion that a man
 was interested in watching them farm.

244 This outer zone, then, has a decided sexual connotation that is
 361 both erotic and social. Women give birth in their manioc gardens
 831 and during male cult ceremonies they may take shelter in the gardens.
 [84] Nursing babies are brought to the manioc gardens regardless of sex,
 [85] but from walking age on, no boy will think of playing in the vicinity
 of the gardens. Manioc is a strictly secular crop for which there are
 no rites, despite its overwhelming nutritive importance and the usual
 hazards of cultivation.

361 From the sexual point of view, the zone of secondary cultivation
 244 is a mixed one. Secondary crops include sugar cane, tobacco, *mihí*
 462 (kaapi, a vision-inducing narcotic), roca, calabash, gourd, squash,
 [27] melons, yams, sweet potatoes, and sometimes maize. There are also
 [24] cultivated trees—orange, lemon, pupunha (*Guilielma speciosa*),
 pineapple, plantain, and banana. Men exclusively cultivate tobacco,
mihí, and roca, women exclusively cultivate bitter manioc; all other
 [77] plantings are mixed. If a plant, onions, for example, is taken from
 the whites and the Indians have seen a white man grow it, they then
 regard it as a proper male cultivation. Maize is an old crop that belongs
 to women but not all communities grow it. Among the *Bahukina*
 and its neighboring subsibs no maize was planted.³ This

³ When Koch-Grünberg was on the Caruluri, in 1908, he observed that the upper communities grew only maize and no manioc. For bitter manioc, he said, they came to the lower Caruluri communities (1909, II, 82). During my survey of the river I found no community without manioc. On the other hand, maize, which had already begun to disappear in the time of Koch-Grünberg, had become quite rare and no longer entered into the regular diet. On certain ceremonial occasions it was made up into tortillas. Mainly it was used in native beer and as

CUBEO

THE CUBEO COMMUNITY

31

secondary zone produces supplemental crops only. Gourd provides household dishes, while tobacco, *mihl*, and cora are for ceremonial purposes. 361 241 462

The plaza consists of two clear spaces, a front plaza that is at the entrance to the house, and a rear plaza that is an extension of the kitchen area. The front plaza is a ceremonial site. It serves for the staging of dance formations and is a gathering place of the men. 351 361 562

Ideally, a front plaza is large, clear, and clean. Its appearance speaks for the quality of the house, for its prosperity, for its high morale, and for the excellence of its headman. It is the headman who will insist that the plaza be kept clean. Women are not barred from the front plaza, but it is definitely a male zone with sacred connotations. The medicine man does his curing on the front plaza. By contrast, the rear plaza is a female zone and is secular. It is often littered with the debris of past meals and abandoned and broken household utensils, shards, and frayed basketry. The women assemble here for their own gossip. During important ceremonies, when the sexual demarcation is accentuated for ritual purposes, it is the rear plaza where women guests are received. The rear plaza is demarcated even when the house is still a mere skeleton under construction. A visitor then may have no obvious clue as to which is front and which is back. If he should make an approach by way of the rear plaza he will not be received until he realizes his error and comes around to the front. In just such a situation I have seen the occupants of a house ignore a guest who made this *gaffe*. When he did recover and came around to the front he was received with as much formality at the bare frame of the house as he would have after it had been fully completed. 622 178 155 521 351 361 562 574

Finally, the river. The river is sacred to the sib, and is in that sense a male zone. Men fish in the river and hunt along its shores. They hide the sacred ancestral trumpets along the shore and bathe to the music of the trumpets before dawn to receive strength from the ancestors. Ordinary connubial coitus takes place well before dawn at the river's edge, where chances for conception are considered to be better. Again, to call the river a male zone is not to say that it is restricted against women. Women have access to the river for bathing and for washing. But it is not their domain. 361 562 823 614 534 515 833 842

During the early part of the day, from just after sunrise until the high heat of the early afternoon, a community gives the appearance of being altogether deserted, or, if the men are not hunting or fishing that day, it appears to be an all-male community. The men are then 621 512

chicken feed. The *Bahúkiwa*, cited by Koch-Grünberg as maize growers, had no tradition of having cultivated anything but bitter manioc as their principal crop. 361 241 462

every turn and landmark of the waterways, their utilization of forest products is also extensive. From the forest they derive mainly raw materials for construction: woods, fibers, and leaves for roof thatching; and some food produce: wild fruits and berries, ants and grubs. Forest foods are supplementary and minor contributions to the diet. In a sense, game are riverine too because they are hunted along water courses. Only occasionally do hunters enter the forests on foot. They prefer to go by canoe, entering the smaller *caños* to catch animals as they come to drink. Hunting is important; the flesh of game animals — the tapir in particular — is highly appreciated and never fails to add a festive note to a meal. On balance, however, it is fish and other water creatures that furnish the main source of animal protein to the diet.

Fishing is the daily masculine routine; hunting is spasmodic, undertaken according to circumstance, as when someone has observed a herd of wild peccary or fresh tapir dung. As a break in the monotony of everyday work, and when the appetite has become jaded with fish, a hunting party is an enlivening experience.

The Indians do not complain about the corner of nature they occupy. They recognize and accept periodicity, times of glut and times of scarcity. Abundance is pleasing to them and scarcity does not alarm them. They expect it to pass. The Indians believe that they are living now in a "golden age." In the past, before they had learned farming and all the techniques of hunting and fishing, they were always on the verge of starvation and lived on tree saps and bark, their traditions say.

Once, while gathering roots, according to one tradition, they came upon the *añhokü* (manioc) tree, a tree that had leaves of the manioc plant. Manioc tubers fell from it. They had never encountered such a tree and did not know what to do with it. Agouti (*Bwü*) came along eating. An old man asked him what he was eating and Agouti replied he was eating manioc. The manioc at that time had no skin. The tree grew in a clearing with no growth around it. It was guarded by many animals. The old man thought, "What are we going to do?" Then along came *Hübükökü* (a rodent), and he told the people to clear a *chagra* and to plant. "Now, let us cut down the tree," he told them. The old man made a *chagra* and the people cut down the tree with stone axes and puño teeth. When the tree had fallen, all the animals came to eat. The old man then saw that one branch held plantains, another sugar cane, another *turi* (poison), another *puñü* (a potato-like tuber), and another *yupika* (sweet potato). They then cut off each limb and planted it.

CUBEO

64

THE CUBEO

512
554
[433] providing drinking parties. While prestige is not a negligible factor in motivating production it is secondary to subsistence needs.

• 241 Compared to manioc, all other subsistence horticulture is of trifling
262 significance. The list of Cubeo cultivations besides manioc is a lengthy one, but except for the pupunha palm there is nothing on it that adds bulk to the diet. Crops cultivated by the Cubeo include bitter manioc (*kerika*), yam (*nydmu*), sweet potato (*yapika*), maize (*kardiye*), and tabena (*mwa*), as well as the following unidentified tubers: *kwaivdrya*, *watwari*, *mod*, *pudju*, *kandka*, and *kabeka*. In addition there are sugar cane (*kavimene*), pineapple, (*ihlbo*), banana (*ijwrye*), plantain (*one*), pupunha (*une*), gourd (*horibe*), calabash (*hahamu*), coca (*patu*), tobacco (*butch*), and capicum (*byn*). The
[273] pupunha palm is important only as an ingredient in chicha: Gourds serve as vessels, and yams, sweet potatoes, sweet manioc, and maize barely supplement the diet. Sugar cane has become a most important ingredient to chicha, and every community grows several varieties of
[273] melons. Most of the starchy tubers the Cubeo grow are used to lend variety to chicha, not to the solid diet.

241 The Cubeo, as I have already observed, have a very strong feeling for domestication. This covers plant as well as animal life. They are eager to plant anything that comes recommended and to follow the
[272] advice of experts. Some have planted coffee shrubs, although no one drinks coffee and they have no other use for the bean. One man built an immense box on stilts which he filled with earth so that he could plant onions safe from pests. Neither he nor anyone else in his community cared for onions. Sugar cane, as already noted, is mainly a
[62] male cultivation, but all other food products except for manioc may be grown equally by either men or women. No plant is neglected and the busiest woman seems to have time to look after her plantings, which may be scattered all over the secondary clearing or inner plaza.
[431] The produce of these scattered plantings, a melon or two, a handful
[62] of sweet potatoes, are often given as gifts from one household to another. Children, too, have their plantings.
[85]

Finally, every household has chickens, descended from stock
235 brought in by white settlers. Chickens belong to women, mainly, I believe, because that is what the Colombians and Brazilians thought
[242] was proper. Although the Indians take good care of the chickens they
[439] do not ordinarily eat them, regarding them either as pets or trading them to the occasional white man who comes by. In some communities, chickens roost in nearby trees — others provide roosting places in the maloca. A few communities rear ducks in the same manner,

- 423 The phratry, with its extension of kinship along a large section of
 615 river, provides for amicable settlements of boundary disputes; these
 [578] arise, however, over river use only, never over cultivated land. There
 is no thought more repugnant to the Cúbeo than that one should
 cultivate land that has been cleared by another. When a woman dies
 [768] her manioc plots are left to be grown over after the mature tubers
 have been harvested, so strongly do the people feel about the intimate
 relationship between land and its cultivator.
- 241 Within the sib territory, male household heads arrive at individual
 614 or, more often, joint decisions as to the total clearing and the alloca-
 361 tion of household manioc plots within it. An individual may select
 any part of the sib territory for a clearing, although by tradition and
 for reasons of convenience the plots are contiguous and the clearing
 241 is one large space. Preparation of a clearing is most often a collective
 614 effort supervised by the headman. Even as they begin to prepare a
 361 clearing the household heads discuss their individual allocations and
 622 stake out a location. There are two ways in which the cultivation of
 476 a clearing can be organized. The preferred way is for the headman
 to organize a collective work party, including all household heads.
 If this cannot be arranged, either because of lack of agreement about
 a joint move or because some male household heads are away in the
 rubber forests or in some other work, the move is made gradually.
 Then the headman and his close associates are the first to move to
 the new location. They start the clearing by preparing their own plots,
 establishing a bridgehead, so to speak, for the rest of the sib. This
 method of moving over to a new location indicates how little anxiety
 the Cúbeo feel about getting a choice location. When the later ar-
 rivals come they can count upon help from the headman and the
 earlier settlers in preparing their own clearings. The general clearing
 begins initially as a narrow semicircular band so that each plot is
 about the same distance from the house. The band is then widened
 by each household in accordance with its needs for new land. An-
 nually, during the short dry seasons, a household head and the other
 adult males cut down and burn over the timber, outward from the
chagra, to extend the cultivations. Manioc can be harvested at from
 six to 24 months. A providential family allocates one section of a field
 for a two-year harvest.
- 244 A manioc cultivation is always spoken of as belonging to a woman.
 423 A woman says, "This *chagra* was made for me by my husband" (or
 "my son" or "my brother"). She is the sole administrator of the plan-
 tation and may assign sections of it to her daughters, to her daugh-
 ters-in-law, and to guests who have come for an extended visit. The

244

423

will lack food, but that she will lack a role in chicha preparation and be deprived of trade goods. Her fear is for loss of status.

[261]

[602]

[558]

The *chagn*, to summarize, is a well-defined item of property. It is the domain of a particular woman, in the sense of economics, in the sense of status, and, as mentioned earlier, as a kind of sanctuary. No other land in the community has this character of particularity. All other cultivations, including pupunha orchards, belong to the cultivator, but the land on which they are grown has no standing as personal property. Whereas the manioc gardens of a household have contiguity, to the point where a son clears a plot for his wife adjacent to that of his mother, the variety of its other cultivations are scattered over the entire settlement.

● 241

423

With respect to all secondary crops, there is also very clear recognition of ownership. Each planting has its known owner, who may be a man, a woman, or a child. Ownership rights are scrupulously respected, and no one would consider disturbing another's plantings without permission. Tobacco, coca, and *mihl* are generally grown for the community by the headman, but are recognized, nevertheless, as his plantings. He also contributes to the community all of his pupunha harvest. But it is precisely because he contributes to the community that his ownership is clearly acknowledged. The point, of course, about Cubeo property relations is that generosity and sharing go along with the assertion of individual rights. The privilege of the individual as a *giver* is thereby respected. The least formal sharing involves sugar cane. It is understood that everyone is entitled to the simple refreshment of a freshly cut stalk of cane. Even so, adults who do not have cane of their own prefer an invitation. Children, on the other hand, do not stand on ceremony. Yet even a very young tot who is cutting a stalk does so with the announcement, "I am now cutting the cane of my older brother," or whatever the kinship connection may be.

226

423

614

On the river, the masculine domain, the men have staked out sites for placing weirs and fish traps. The setting of weirs is the one territorial issue that disturbs the harmony between sibs along a river. Weirs are commonly set in a *caño*, in which case they are a purely intrasib matter. If, however, men block the main stream they are obligated to allow fish to pass through periodically. "Sometimes they forget," I was told, "and then we go and tell them. But if they are mean then we go at night and break up their weirs." Such disputes are not common. Within the sib the issue is not of weir rights but of specialization in fishing methods. A man develops a preference for weir fishing, he troubles to prepare the cumbersome equipment and

[578]

423

226

421 more possessive with objects of personal adornment. While the former objects circulate most freely within the sib, the latter tend to circulate more among blood siblings. Consonant with this attitude of casualness is an almost total lack of anxiety about loss of property. An improperly secured canoe drifts away and the owner makes no immediate effort to retrieve it. It will come to rest somewhere downstream, he reasons, where a sib or phratry mate will secure it or even bring it back. Children have access to cherished possessions of their parents and when there is damage or loss it is considered improper to scold. The young son of the *Bahúkiwa* headman asked for a prized clasp knife. The father, reluctantly to be sure, gave the child the knife. The next day the child had lost it in the river and the father accepted his loss without comment.

421 On one occasion a visitor from an upriver sib rose to leave, after having spent most of the day in amiable talk, and in a most casual voice said, "I will take my spear with me." A young man then went to his quarters and fetched the spear, which the visitor took as he departed. The young man explained that he had been at this man's house during a drinking party. He saw the spear and admired it and took it home without saying anything about it. Theft to the Cubeo is not a matter of purloining an object. It is entirely a matter of attitude. They ask, in a manner of speaking: Is the taking of an object an act of friendship or of hostility?

INHERITANCE

241
423 Land, as already mentioned, is not an important issue in inheritance, mainly because the question of who has prepared a clearing for whom is too vital a matter for the Cubeo. A woman would find it unsettling to work land that a man not of the proper relationship had prepared. Daughters, of course, will work the land of a dead mother as they had worked with her when she was alive. Some personal objects are buried with the deceased; others, such as a woman's pots and a man's fishing gear, are destroyed. Some property, however, is inherited. Sons inherit from the father, daughters from the mother. Valuable and important objects go in inheritance, minor objects are destroyed, and symbolic objects are buried with the dead. The right to bequeath an object within the family is fully recognized. Ceremonial objects confer status and must go to the proper heir. I learned of no irregularities or disputes in the inheritance of ceremonial regalia. A man's gun and machete are valuable items and go to the son, but if the widow should remarry it is proper for the son to

[587]
[431]
[593]

769

171

(114)

769

534

171

● (241)

(881)

(184)

(552)

769

171

769

534

174

534

by that ubiquitous and meaningless term *yurupari*, lingua franca and Tupian for "devil," "spirits," "sacred," "mystery," and the like.² The Indians have learned to satisfy all foreign curiosity about their sacred practices by uttering the impressive word *yurupari*. All rites involving the use of the sacred and taboo-to-women, trumpets and flutes, have been invariably described in the literature as *yurupari*. We cannot assume, however, that because these instruments are ancestral embodiments among the Cubeo that they are so among all other tribes who use them. One of the striking characteristics of the entire Amazon drainage is the ready way in which form and content separate and recombine in new ways. It has been reported that among the Arawakan tribes in the region the flutes and trumpets represent the spirit of *Kiwani* (*Kiwani*), the tribal culture hero (Koch-Grünberg, 1909, I, 187). On the Orinoco, von Humboldt (1852, II, 363) found a cult of sacred trumpets associated with the fertility of fruits and berries. The plant fertility aspect of the instruments is well-nigh universal in the region, suggesting that this may have been the oldest association. Among the Cubeo, too, the whipping ceremonies are quite explicitly associated with the harvest of fruits and berries during the short summer season. Among the neighboring Tucano Indians, where sacred horns are used in the initiation of young boys, the instruments all have animal names, such as armadillo, paca, and agouti, as well as a little bird. They are reported to be known as tamed animals, but there is no reference in this report to an ancestral cult (Ypiringa Monteiro, 1960).

As for the Cubeo ancestral features, it may be reasonable to suppose we are dealing with an Andean culture trait that has diffused eastward into the rain forest. Ancestors are prominent in the legends of the Chibchan-speaking Cagaba (Park, 1916), in northern Colombia, and, southwest of the Cubeo, among the Witoto Indians (Preuss, 1921-23; Whiffen, 1915; Steward, 1918), with whom the Cubeo show remarkably close affiliation. Among the Cubeo, we may speculate, a fusion has occurred between an early ancestral cult and a series of other culture elements such as harvest festivals, cultic whipping, male puberty rites, and a secret men's cult in which spirits taboo to women are represented by musical instruments. As will be seen in a later chapter, a similar fusion seems to have occurred among elements making up the complex mourning ceremonies.

Among the *Bahúkwa* there are five pairs of musical instruments

² Actually Koch-Grünberg (1915-16) does give a native term for "*yurupari* dance" (*bekehoikelepuiwa*, which has the meaning of "festival of the Ancients"), but he apparently attached no significance to the term.

754
 [775] insects, not to mention the jaguar in the case of a true *yavi*. The insect
 [125] spirits that arrive to fall into the pot are *tadrako* (butterfly), *utdwe*
 (firefly), *henohenóri* (bee), and *utichū* (wasp).

[828] The common shamanistic form of killing is *diwai*. The shaman
 usually kills when the victim is asleep. The death takes place in a
 dream and such a death is known as *dekóbaiwu* (dream death). There
 are other forms of professional shamanistic killing. Blowing in the
 house is one. If the shaman blows his breath and tobacco smoke in
 the same manner as in curing, but within the house, then someone
 [755] in the house will sicken and may die. For this reason curing takes
 place on the plaza. Yet having explained this, my informant added
 that more important was intent. A shaman could treat someone
 within the house and his blowing would cause no harm if he did not
 want it to. Boiling nail cuttings from fingers or toes in a capicum
 pepper broth kills by a similar principle but with less attention to
 painful detail than in the previously described method of killing a
 sorcerer or poisoner. The shaman prepares this brew deep in the
 woods where he cannot be seen. He must, however, have been able to
 [534] obtain the cuttings from his intended victim. Finally, a shaman has
 a stone bull-roarer. As he whirls it the victim suffers as if struck with
 a machete.

682 The Indians claim to use a number of plant poisons which go by
 278 the *lingon geral* term *marakimbára*, and in Tucanoan by the term
 824 for "illness," *ihé*. *Turú* is a leaf cultivated as a poison. The leaf is
 shredded and the fibers made up into a small packet that is dipped
 into a calabash of chicha until the infusion is strong. If the *turú* is
 used fresh it kills quickly and if allowed to dry for five days or so it
 produces only illness, the symptoms of which are diarrhea and excre-
 tion of blood. *Turú* is administered at a drinking party shortly after
 midnight. All in the house are implicated in *turú* poisoning since
 only the victim must drink the fatal chicha.

278 *Koné nonedwaiye* is a cultivated leafy plant similar to *turú* but
 824 one that produces a fatty exudation, and is intended to poison by
 754 entering the body through the urethra. At a drinking party the poi-
 822 soner waits for his victim to leave the house to urinate. He then
 secretly places the substance on the urine. Symptoms of pain in the
 groin and in the genitals accompanied by a discharge of pus occur
 within three months and are fatal.

278 *Yapibū kowaiye* (poison for swelling the abdomen) is another culti-
 824 vated plant from which an infusion is put into chicha or porridge.
 682 Symptoms occur after a year and are fatal. For ten days the victim has
 fever and pain in his limbs. These symptoms subside and return.

• [241]

these conditions is relevant to an understanding of Cubeo culture. But even taken together they do not account for the principal patterns of Cubeo culture, which have a natural history of their own. The question, however, is not whether cultural patterns have a natural history, but only whether the ecological and the technological theories are adequate accounts of the natural history of a culture.

121
174

ADAPTATION

Thus, the problem of cultural adaptation to an environment cannot be dealt with simply and one-sidedly by describing the hypothetical shaping of a culture to the environment. Adaptation is a study of interaction. Generally speaking, highly specialized environments demand highly specialized and hence relatively predictable cultural responses. The tropical forest is not an example of a highly specialized economic environment judged empirically by the diversity of cultural patterns it has sustained. Bitter manioc is clearly a cumbersome crop, its high yield and relative ease of cultivation being offset by its very heavy demands on labor, specifically on that of women. It can be argued, therefore, that this crop offers a poor economic base for social and political development. Yet the Northwest Amazon also is familiar with maize, yams, and sweet manioc, not to mention beans and squash and gourd. These crops have traditionally sustained high cultures. Can we explain in ecological terms why the Northwest Amazon tribes chose to specialize in bitter manioc rather than maize and beans, as did, for example, the lowland Maya? It would seem that here is a case of cultural choice in which preferences for quick yield, minimum care in cultivation, strong sexual division of labor, and perennial harvest rather than the problems of storage and seasonal periodicity may have been compelling factors. Since the Cubeo social system placed no great demands upon an expanding economic productivity the "easy" adaptation to nature was always feasible. The main patterns of Cubeo life do not stress the disciplines of prolonged and closely managed effort. The habitual rhythms of masculine labor are discontinuous and varied. Leadership is based on the principle of mood regulation rather than on dedication to an ideal or submission to authority. High cultures are based on strongly disciplined and collective ways of life. By contrast, the Cubeo values greater emotional spontaneity and personal autonomy. An economy, needless to say, will in the end transform cultural values as well as the personal character of the members of a culture. Before

182
121182
241
121121
181
182
433
(241)

(461)

/p. 54-A/

241 ●
342



A manioc plantation below a Tucano maloca.

The Forest Addicts

survives, the cultivated plants have been strangled by weeds and secondary growth. 249

The *cacique*, the *maloca*'s pet bird, accompanies the Indians, flying from bush to bush and cawing raucously as she glides low over their heads, her olive-green breast almost brushing their hair. She perches on a charred tree-stump, looks at them as they leave the old *chagra* and enter the forest, gives a loud 'caw' and flies back to the *maloca* to see what edible scraps can be found. [136]

In the early morning the tall forest is dank and cool, a place of silence broken only by the occasional chatter of the Indians as they move rapidly along, their sure footsteps delicately gliding over the mass of roots which forms a base to the pathway. Few birds and no animals are about; the sun's rays piercing through the thick leaf vault give life to what might be a dead world. Suddenly they come to a wide expanse of cleared land. There is a chaotic mass of fallen trees, black from recent fires, surrounded by the forest wall. It is as if a great explosion had occurred leaving behind only the charred remains.

Every year or two, when the dry season comes in late November or December, the men cut down an area of forest, and about two months later, just before the rains return, they burn the fallen timber to make a new *chagra*. With each new *chagra*, the men, who do all the clearing and burning, move further afield, so that eventually, after some five years or more, the *maloca* too will be moved to be near the plantation. 241 462

This system of shifting agriculture, the men as it were preparing the ground for the women to work on, is carried on incessantly. Partly owing to soil exhaustion, partly because of weed strangulation, the areas of cultivation must be constantly changed, and so the moving Indian population covers wide areas of otherwise untouched Amazonian forest. 241 221

It is now January; the smell of the fire still clings to this battlefield of black charcoal. Soon, with the arrival of the rains in March, the women will plant out the manioc cuttings and by late October the first crop will be harvested; so for two years they may expect to get reasonable manioc yields from their *chagra*, after which they must move again. 241 462

The men run over the fallen tree-trunks and from the new *chagra* they move into an area partly overgrown by weeds and secondary growth. Here, placed almost mathematically across the *chagra*, in contrast to the haphazard cultivation of other plants, are the avenues of coca shrubs. 249 462

Perhaps the ritual associated with the taking of cocaine during festivals and tribal ceremonies, apart from its daily use, explains the attention given not only to its later preparation but also to the planting and picking of the leaves. The common coca shrub, always tended by the men, stands about five feet high when fully grown and may last five or more years. It is the most important of the stimulants taken by the Tukano, some of whom are heroic addicts taking as much as two ounces a day. Their life is partly geared to their addiction, and their daily practice is to come to the *chagra* and